233folded" for export.

Sheep are raised primarily for meat. They do not figure in social organization except as minor gifts (including entrance gifts). They are small in stature, and so inexpensive that the sheepskin can often be sold for 1/3 the cost of the entire animal. The woolly skins are used as cloaks, bedcovers, etc. The sheep is not bred for wool, only for meat, especially for the fattail ("lat") which is as prized as in other Middle Eastern areas. The wool (yä-bäg täg̈ur) is not very long, and is used to stuff pillows in urban areas. Wool weaving is a local specialty of remote districts, now dying out due to competition of modern, imported blankets, but formerly used to make the black, Arab-type "burnos".

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Goats as well as sheep are usually entrusted to an ex-slave or a simpleton, or very small children, when on pasture. Domestic goats ("feyäl") are raised because of the cheapness of their meat, and the skin which is tanned by the Faqi, and made into parchment for church literature, etc. To fatten rams, their testicles are crushed between rocks, and the resulting animal is called "qetqet".

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231 Horses are small, wiry and very enduring. They are the animal of the young aristocrats in warfare, in games showing prowess. Mules, small, wiry, and intelligent, cost at least twice as much as horses. They are preferred by travellers and older persons, and are used as the animal of honor ridden by the veiled bride when she is taken to her bridegroom's hamlet. If they can at all afford it, a Gondar mule is preferred, and for the bridal

291 and women, as protection from rain and cold in the rainy season. Finely embroidered, it was also a garment of high prestige, since the king himself presented it to his liege lords from his own royal workshop, frequently made by imported artisans from the Middle East and their Abyssinian [439] apprentices, often slaves. It is still worn by feudal lords in remote rural areas, but has to be bought from caravan traders who import it, though there are rumors that they were until recently still produced in the district of Bäjä-da in remote, mountainous Semyen sub-province.

292 The old prestige of the "burnos" lives on in the "kabā", the royal (hoodless) cape or mantle, of dark wool with embroidered stiff collar and borders, draped over the shoulders, and reaching to the ankles. This garment is still the prerogative of royalty, of nobility on festive occasions, and of priests. It was the garment seen in western newsreels at the time Emperor Haile Selassie wore it in Geneva and London, even with his European suit.

286 During the time of the roving Amhara feudal chiefs, even in Menelik's time, when capitals were no more than tent cities, carpet making was extensive. Some were used as tapestry, by the nobility. The best were imported, but there was considerable domestic production. A type called "kozā" was woven, surviving for a while in remote areas such as the aforementioned "Bäjäda" district in Semyen, but not of any economic significance. It died out as an art, with the death of the old craftsmen, increase in imports, and the end of the tent cities. Cheap rugs have replaced the carpets, just as imported black chintz has replaced

286 the expensive, woollen, hand-made "kāba", among the common priesthood.

291 Headdress, except for the cap("qob") of monks and nuns, and the turban of priests, is not worn by the Amhara. Only in the cold upper "dega" do the shepherd make a kind of helmet of reeds or plaited wool, covering the ears. The first breach came about a generation ago when some of the [77] nobility began to wear European hats of soft felt, with wide brims. More recently, the tropical helmet of British and Italians has become popular among educated clerks, teachers and provincial judges, and even commoners of distinction are beginning to weeve an imitation tropical helmet of reeds, to serve as a miniature, personal sun umbrella. But the vast majority still use no headgear, and protect themselves from the hot sun by wrapping a portion of the shamma around the skull. The shamma thus provides protection from cold, heat, dust, rain--and shields the bashful (see language of shamma).

Most Amhara still go barefoot. Sandals used to be the prerogative of royalty, and though this prohibition no longer exists, leather sandals, or rubber sneakers from Egypt are still only in limited use, mainly in towns. Shoes imported from Europe are expensive and are worn only by highly educated individuals, officials in Addis Ababa, etc. The average Amhara, including some rural nobility, prefers to continue barefoot. Rural nobles even ride barefoot using the traditional stirrup with an iron ring for the big toes. Sandals made of leather were used by travellers. They

283 thread onto a warping reel in rough basket shape and size,
462 called "mäzäwär". It is a kneehigh frame of branches set on the ground, with a somewhat narrower waist. Several s skeins of cotton thread are thus connected and rolled into long, firm strands to serve as warp.

Sometimes it takes several months for a housewife to prepare enough cotton thread for the warp and woof of a single toga ("shamma"). But a diligent woman, if she has little else to do, can prepare enough for half a dozen or more togas a year. The cotton thread is now given to [286] the male weaver "shamani" who is to weave the toga. He may set up his loom in the back yard of the customer, or work near his own hut.

462 Skilled occupations for single women, e.g. "women between marriages" who often go to urban centers, are few. The brewer of mead and owner of the "tej bet", described under entertainment, usually employs several women as waitress-prostitutes.

462 There is another occupation, the woman beautician.
305 She may be specialized as a tatooer of women, "täqwari",
304 usually a Coptic Amhara woman, who is kept busy especially
[796] before great church holy days such as the Feast of the True Cross ("Mäsqäl"), Christmas ("Gänna") and Epiphany ("Temqät"). Her customers are more often divorcees "between marriages "(who can afford it because of earnings as restaurateur-prostitutes or beer and mead brewers), than young girls or married women, who have no cash. As the name indicates ("tequrat" means blackening), one of her jobs is to darken the gums between the teeth, to heighten

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

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463 They are especially afraid of the "buda", evil eye concept,
754 of which Falashas are believed especially capable; also of
326 their supposed ability to turn themselves into real and magic hyenas at night.

This magic power, however, is believed to make their
323 tools "strong", and the pottery of the Falasha womenfolk "hard to break", so that their wares are preferred by the Amhara, creating a monopoly for Falasha iron tools and pottery wherever Falasha hamlets are within a day's walking distance. In some areas there are itinerant Falasha smiths, whose womenfolk make pottery at the same time. They will live in a special guest hut at the edge of an Amhara hamlet.

463 Weaving is also done by Falashas, but they have no
563 monopoly on it, as Muslim Ethiopian weavers are believed
286 by the Amhara to turn out togas that are just as good. For many centuries Muslims were permitted to reside only in segregated sections of towns, such as "AddisAlam" of
361 Gondar town. Though this prohibition has been lifted, most Ethiopian Muslims still reside in special quarters of towns, rarely in a rural hamlet on the Amhara plateau. They were not permitted to own land and no one would rent them any.

They see much more of the country trade routes, since it is they who do much of caravan trading, acting as guides, quartermasters and retail traders for Arab coreligionists who are the wholesalers, usually on routes leading to the Sudan, to Eritrea and to Somaliland. The Coptic Amhara consider the Ethiopian Muslims almost as foreign as the Arabs, even the descendants of Amhara who were forcefully

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

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286 converted to Islam by the invading Mahdi in the late 19th century, some of whom never reconverted to Christianity after the end of the invasion. This latter group speaks Amharic, but the Coptic Amhara refuse to call them Amhara. In turn, the Muslims call the Copts "Kaffir", infidels, which is considered an insult. Though socially segregated, Muslim weavers are often called to make shammas in the back yard of a Coptic Amhara house, returning to their own homes at dusk.

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464 In the provinces of Shoa, and the southern, non-Amhara provinces, the Amhara conquered much land in the late 19th century, acquiring millions of Galla and other "gabbar", sharecropping peasants with a status somewhat resembling that of medieval European serfs. They still constitute an important category of labor, though they can leave the land if they are willing to abandon everything (which they rarely do). During the reign of the present emperor their lot has improved, and it is the Galla who are at present experiencing the most remarkable mobility in occupation of any group in Ethiopia. The numbers affected by the change are small, but the principle of this mobility cannot be exaggerated. Even Menelik II, conqueror of the Galla, had noticed how easily he could win them over to serve under his military banner, partly because of their in-tribal dissention, partly due to their fierce loyalty to any chief to whom they have sworn allegiance. Today a number are in positions of the central government, and many Galla officials and clerks are sent out to the old Amhara provinces, even to Gondar, to govern and administer their erstwhile conquerors

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

E. Weaving

286 Most weaving is of cotton (Gossypium arboreum), grown in the lowlands of Ethiopia. It is of shorter staple but stronger than the Egyptian, imported from the Sudan.

286 563 [465] Weaving is man's work, and in Amhara territory is an "ethnic occupation" carried out either by Falashas or by Muslim Ethiopians. Emperor Menelik II tried to change this by encouraging Amhara men to take part in this basic and increasingly necessary activity, not only for the traditional shamma, but also for the spreading use of "qāmīs" shirt and jodphur trousers. But he had little success with it. Only very poor, "detribalized" Amhara (who have intermarried with socially lower ethnic groups) weave shamma togas, and cotton sheeting imports have increased steadily since Menelik II for other garments. One can therefore state that weaving remains an ethnic occupation.

286 There are two basic types of materials for shammas woven on the traditional handloom The more prevalent is the peasant-type, thick, warm, soft, tight-knit and sturdy, heavy material, that will last long; the other is thinly woven, almost like a muslin, and is preferred in towns, especially by the women who use it like a long shawl above a long dress. The latter type is more richly embroidered at the narrow borders.

When the housewife has cleaned, carded, spun and rolled the cotton thread for the warp on a warping reel,

286 and the thread for the woof is rolled on reed bobbins, the weaver is called, if he does not insist at doing the work in his own courtyard (on which the rural Falashas particularly usually insist). He brings the portable comb "mämcha", which consists largely of fairly light hardwood bars with neat rows of thin reeds, "ters" (lit. teeth) fixed horizontally between them; also the heddling arrangement which consists of a few neat sticks and cords, and the small canoe-shaped shuttle, "mäwärwärya" made of smooth hardwood and pierced by a hole through which the cotton thread from the bobbin inside the shuttle can later be drawn during wefting. This is the basic, personal equipment of the weaver, referred to as "shamani eqa".

At his place of work, a horizontal beam and bar are set up on sturdy stakes, high enough so that they will be above his head when he is in sitting position. A hole, "masraya", is dug so that he can place his feet from the knees down in it and yet have another foot of leeway at bottom. This is important for the heddling arrangement, the device of raising and lowering alternate strands during wefting by means of a treadle which consists simply of strings attached to the big toes, so that each foot moving up and down creates a shed and countershed, up above.

The fixed part of the loom is set up on stakes about 2 yards from each other, the horizontal bar about 2-1/2 yards high. The portable comb is about 1-1/2 yards long and is suspended by 2 ropes about 1-1/4 yards long from

286 the top, so that it hangs about 20 inches above ground and can be operated comfortably. The shuttle is about 8 inches long, canoe-shaped, with its inside carved out to interior length of 5-1/2 inches, 1-1/4 inches inside width, and by means of a lengthwide strong reed a bobbin 2-1/2 inches long is suspended within it.

The loom mounting now takes place. The warp is stretched lengthwise in front of, over and behind the weaver, hitched firmly to a wooden post in front of him ("yäfit gend"), after being laid out over a horizontal beam on top and in front of him so that on that beam the warp is laid out, bothllengthwise and parallel. Usually there are 8 packthreads ("mäzärazär").

The operation consists principally of putting the waft between the warp as quickly as possible by throwing the shuttle across horizontally from one hand into the other, through the passageway("wärrawärra"), which constitutes the picking part of the wefting. At the same time he operates the warp or comb by means of a long, arched stick of hardwood ("mäwätäriya") to smooth the edges of the material and prevent puckering by stretching it. From time to time he lets on and takes off, by unknotting and loosening the bundle of thread and retightening (this may be done by his junior assistant-apprentice). When finished, the weaver carefully knots the ends together, and sews the lengthwise ends of the shamma ("mäsad") by hand with a strong thread, now often an imported one.

286 An experienced weaver can throw the shuttle as quickly as every 1/2 second, which would mean 120 picks a minute. It is a one-man operation, and the junior helper is employed primarily to carry the portable comb hand bobbins and make fastenings as indicated. An average, simple shamma takes about two days of work, but cases have been known when an experienced weaver in the prime of life, working uninterruptedly for 12 hours from sunrise to sunset, without rest and withour mishap, did it in one day, because of the pressure of an approaching marriage. The marriage months following the harvest are the busy season, ending at the approach of the light rains. Often a weaver takes 3 days for an average shamma, with long rests during the work day; a "kutta" toga may well take a week.

Weavers usually work by special order only and do not store any products for more advantageous sale, for the "season". They are craftsmen, not traders, particularly the Falashas, and they employ no middleman. Thus the transaction is on the interpersonal level. This is even true in the provincial towns. Only in Addis Ababa can a market section be found where traders store and sell readymade shammas, but nearly always they are of the muslin, cheesecloth-type variety, with a selection of colorfully embroidered, narrow borders.

286 386 439 Traditional dying is rarely of the cloth, but mostly of threads which are then used in embroidery. In the past many of these red and blue dyes were imported from the coast, from India, or colored threads

286 pulled from imported cloth. Now most of these dyes are
386 imported from Europe, and many are colorfast only in
[439] cold water (which causes little difficulty as most washing is in cold water). Such embroidery must be paid for extra, but the simple, narrow, single-colored border of the shamma, of the rural type, is included in the price.

286 For such a peasant shamma, the weaver receives
434 from Eth$5 to 8.- depending on whether or not the customer supplied all the prepared cotton. An average, experienced weaver can usually get enough orders to earn about Eth$200.- per year, in the rural area. If he does no farming other than gardening, his food cost may be Eth$140.- per annum. The average weaver is left with more cash than the farmer, who rarely has more than Eth$30.- left in cash at the end of the year. More often the weaver also farms, since his "season" does not conflict with the major active farming season. A hard-working weaver of solid reputation has the opportunity to accumulate comparative wealth, at least theoretically, but since most rural ethnic specialists, including the Falashas, are not much concerned with commercial profit, few do. It occurs more often among Muslim town weavers.

286 The social position of the weaver, apart from his
554 ethno-religious affiliation, gives him a high place among working specialists, almost equal to that of the musician (if it were not for the fact that the weaver is usually non-Coptic). He is above the status of a smith, and there is no suspicion of black magic attached to the

286 554 weaver's occupation. If the weaver were to become a Copt and live among Copts, he would be on a social level equal to a poor, laboring Amhara.

C. Semi-specialized and unskilled.

463 563 The present division of labor is still based on the former feudal structure of the Amhara economy and human organization. Specialized skills are left to other ethnic groups, and, apart from non-ignoble occupations such as war, church, agriculture, healing, the Amhara reserve to themselves semi-specialized occupations and part-time labor traditionally carried out by household retainers.

The latter type of labor, dealt with in this section, can be roughly divided into three categories: (1) labor arising out of the feudal lord-peasant relationship; (2) semi-specialization "that anyone can learn", in the attitude of the Coptic Amhara; (3) temporary labor, for which specified wages based on Time and Energy are agreed upon, called "damoz" (a contraction of "dama-was", lit. "blood-and sweat" compensation). This term is even used for temporary marriage, during which the woman acts as cook and travelling companion.

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466 [566] The first category arises out of the obligations owed by the sharecropping "gabbar" to his feudal lord, or landowning church: the former statute labor, when everyone would come with his own tools and construct a

[533] usually a Coptic Amhara, of more talent than skill.
286 The weaver, "shamani", though usually a Ethiopian Muslim (or Falasha), carries on his work in theopen, and anyone may learn it. It is only because it requires consistent manual labor that most Amhara shun it.

d) Religious Minority.

794 The foremost religious minority in Amhara provinces is that of the Ethiopian Muslims. Most of them live in towns, and in the past were residentially segregated to the older parts of town, near caravan trails andbig markets. Even today, their social associations are almost exclusively with other Muslims, e.g. traders from the Sudan. Both are regarded as low-class not only by the Amhara but also by the handful of Arab wholesale traders from Yemen. As a result, negroid and amei-negroid ex-
[791] slaves (Shanqalla), especially women, often become converted to Islam in order to marry Ethiopian Muslims or Sudanese, who, as retail traders, are economically better off. The Muslim veneer of these women is very thin, and they are among the most ardent followers of the "Zar" cult.

e) Racial Minority

563 Shanqalla slaves were, [illegible], entirely below
567 the social scale, and treated as a separate caste. They were brought or purchased from the Shanqalla, negroid, people on the southwest escarpment, or from Nilotic

8: Rey G-5 (1910-1920)1935
MP5 Amhara MP5

291 which is worn by both men and women of all ranks; and by the beauty of the *chamma* can as a rule be judged the position or state of purse of the wearer. It consists of a piece of material about three yards in length and from two to four yards in width according as to whether it is doubled or not.

291 The more beautiful specimens of these are hand-
●286 woven from native cotton, spun and prepared by the Abyssinian women. These are usually edged with red or mixed coloured silks, and those worn by the high priests, great chiefs, and princes and princesses have a very handsome border varying from twelve to eighteen inches wide, carried out in silks of vivid colours woven into an artistic design. They are as fine as gossamer, though large and warm; they are not as a rule sold, but if ever obtainable by Europeans cost from 200 to 500 dollars.

The more ordinary *chammas* are also woven by hand, but of imported cotton, and by comparison are of a much harder and coarser character, though still nice to look at. Natives who cannot afford the hand-woven shawl make use of a length of *abougedid* or cotton sheeting for the same purpose.

291 The *chamma*, which is not unlike the old Roman toga, is draped round the shoulders, often being brought up over the head to the eyebrow and again over the lower part of the face and nose, leaving but the eyes
[376] visible. It is always lowered from the face and head as a mark of friendliness or respect, and generally when passing Europeans, though I have known Abyssinians of the anti-foreign old régime to cover up their faces more closely when passing the *Frangi*. At court those in attendance twist the garment round the waist and

[MANZ]

29 / *The Legacy of Manz and Gondar*

The history and customs of Manz are more obviously related to its geography than is the case with Gondar. The encircling wall of mountains has been a source of isolation and protection, two factors of great moment in the history of the area. Peculiar eating and clothing habits have developed in response to a climate which, owing to the altitude of Manz and its position at the edge of an escarpment that leads down to a desert of the Rift Valley, is one of the coldest in Ethiopia. The temperature often approaches the freezing point, and in the colder months (October and November) standing in the sunshine at high noon is no defense against a shrill wind that pierces the bones.

Barley is the only crop that thrives in the highest parts of Manz, though wheat, beans, peas, and chick-peas grow in the slightly lower altitudes. But *tēff*, the grain preferred by Abyssinians for the preparation of their staple food —a kind of pancake known as *ĭnjarā*—cannot be cultivated at those heights, so the Manzē typically eats *ĭnjarā* made of barley.

Sheep are a major item in the Manz economy. The average farm has a herd of 100 to 150 sheep, which provide a heavy wool as well as the Manzē's favorite meat. This wool is used to make the *bānnā*, a warm blanket which is wrapped around the body and constitutes the standard dress of the Manzē. The *bānnā* distinguishes him from other Abyssinians, who wear a white cotton toga called *shammā*. Wealthier men wear the *barnos*, a tailored cape made of dark wool. Manzē wool is also used for the weaving of rugs which ornament the homes of the well-to-do.

No dyes are used in working their wool, so a crowd of Manzēs in natural-colored *bānnā* seen at a distance resembles a flock of their sheep. This is one of the touches contributing to the impressive aesthetic unity of the Manz landscape. The effect is also produced by the fact that the Manzē's house is built of stone, the same stone that is seen everywhere on the terrain; and its conical roof is made of thatch, which makes the roof look like the piles of grain in the fields. The churches are also built of stone with thatched conical roofs. Everything one sees in Manz bespeaks a harmony with the natural environment.

The cold climate of Manz is invigorating. It prevents food from spoiling quickly and discourages diseases which flourish in lower altitudes. The Manzē boasts that his climate keeps people healthy and gives them long lives, and indeed it is not uncommon to find men sprightly in their eighties and nineties. But only the hardy survive, for life there is as rugged as the land, and the people—like their landscape—are stony, bleak, and full of dark recesses.

Manz does not occupy so conspicuous a place in Ethiopian history as Gondar. Indeed, most books on Ethiopia do not even mention the area. While

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779 their combined ranks the political elite of Ethiopia has been historically recruited. Third among the highland peoples are the Agaw. It appears likely that they are the descendants of the original Hamitic population of this region, and only during the last century have most Begemder Agaw been converted from their indigenous religious beliefs to membership in the Coptic Church. Within Begemder, they constitute a majority of the inhabitants of three non-contiguous areas. Fourth among highlanders are the rural Muslims, indigenous people who have been converted to Islam over the last five centuries.

241 While the rural Amhara, Tigre, and Agaw are exclusively
463 farmers, these Muslims divide their energies between farm-
286 ing and working as artisans, mainly weavers of the toga
443 cloth; Muslim women are prominant among the traders of
562 the weekly markets held throughout the province. Least numerous of the highland people are the Falasha, Abyssin-
423 ian Jews following a Mosaic creed. A despised and humil-
326 iated people, the Falasha farm only rented fields
286 (timene), and work as smiths as well as weavers; Falasha
162 women are potters. Although the Falasha are localized in several regions, they nowhere constitute a majority
361 of an area's residents. Like the Abyssinian Muslims, they reside either in hamlets of their own, apart from Amhara, or in peripheral homesteads of otherwise Christian hamlets. These distributions are summarized in Map2.

	Tikurmidir	Lemmariet
Ambilineage III	4	
Ambilineage IV	3	
Ambilineage V		5
Ambilineage VI		3
Ambilineage VII		2
Total risteñas households	31	21

In each of the hamlets, there are two households belonging to Amhara tenant farmers (timeneña), individuals unable to claim membership in any local ambilineage. These tenants, who provide their own seed and draught animals, return a quarter of their crops to the risteñas whose fields they use. There in Tikurmidir two additional timeneña households, whose members are Muslims. These households are headed by brothers who supplement their agricultural activities by weaving the šama (toga) for local Christians.

Primary rights to a third of a parish's fields are believed to reside with the parish church. Ideally, the use of such fields, known as yikeys mariet ("priest's land"), is given to local priests in return for participating in the Masses of the parish church. In practice, rist-holding ambilineages become associated with specific tracts of yikeys mariet by providing such priests over generations. Occasionally, ambilineage

*793 869 222 five weeks before it is ready to be woven into a tsifit, a food hamper and table around which the Amhara meal is eaten. Because the students cannot afford so long a hiatus from their studies, the grasses are dried only a week or so, in order to lighten them for the trip back [735] to the highlands. During their stay in the lowlands, the students support themselves by begging food from local farmers. Enterprising students often gather twice the amount of gramta they can carry, leaving the surplus to be taken up to the highlands in January.

*793 869 [442] The gramta is brought to the student's hut at the kiyne school for storage and drying. Although the students are anxious to sell immediately upon drying, both price and demand are low then, since the weavers, peasant [286] women, have no leisure for tsifit making until March. In *[192] the meanwhile, the student makes either traditional umbrellas of gramta for sale at the regional market, or seleyen, shrouds which he sells in the churchyard to mourners.

[434] Students also beg crops, a portion of which they consume and the remainder of which is sold at market. For a four week period, during October and November, the student begs a traditional double handful of pulses from farmers. During a two to three month period from February to April, students beg cereals and other crops (especially, cayenne). Because the amounts of produce